

*Saxon Dictionary*, no doubt on the strength of my elucidation, thus: *gestépan* 'to initiate, consecrate' and gives as source WW. For his third edition I recommend the following correction: "*gestépan* (WW. 28<sup>31</sup> = *Corpus Glossary* I 466) see *gestépan*" which with the meaning indicated should be inserted on page 275, second column, right after *stéap* m. 'stoup'.

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OE. *HÉOLCA* 'PRUINA': ON. *HÉLA* 'PRUINA'.

One of the most interesting words preserved to us by the *Lambeth Psalter* is the one contained in the following gloss on Ps. 118<sup>88</sup> sicut uter in pruina, *swa swa bytte on heolcan*. Sievers was the first, if I mistake not, to take note of the word in the 3<sup>d</sup> edition of his *Angelsächsische Grammatik*, and from there it passed over into the 1<sup>st</sup> edition of Clark Hall's *Dictionary* in 1894, and four years later the *Bosworth-Toller* recorded it, giving *Lambeth Ps.* 118<sup>88</sup> as the source. In the revised edition of his dictionary Hall has seen fit to drop the word as he has dropped other words he ought to have retained. For the dropping of the *heolca* 'hoar-frost' he exhibited in the 1<sup>st</sup> edition, on the strength of Cook—Sievers' *Old English grammar* 81, there is not the slightest reason. Some years ago, I believe, I drew privately Prof. Lidén's attention to its connection with ON. *héla* 'pruina' and I argued that the Old English form to be posited was *héolca* rather than Sievers' *heolca*. Later on I put down my observations on *héolca* in the form of an article to be published in *Anglia*, but this article seems to have shared the fate of many an other one sent to the editor — it never reached him. I held and hold that *héol-* of *héolca* goes back to an original *hihl-* connected with Sanscrit *çícīras* which <sup>1)</sup> is cited by Walde sub *calere* and Falk-Torp sub *\*hihlôn* *\*hehlôn* as the congener of ON. *héla*. OE. *héolca* is a diminutive like *geolca*.

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TRACES OF THE MASCULINE GENDER OF OE. *EORÞE*.  
OE. *\*BÆSN*, *BÝSN* 'FERMENTUM'.

According to Hans Hecht's edition of Wærferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*, page 93<sup>18</sup>, the summary of the second book, chapter XXV, dealing with a miracle wrought by St. Benedict, reads in Ms. H thus: *Hu se eorþe awarep þone munucnapan of his byrgenne*. Again for *seo eorþe* in the following passage taken from Ælfric's *Nativity of St. Mary*: "*hwi sceolde seo eorþe hyre wæstmæs ofteon þam unscyldigum sæde for ðam scyldigan sædere*

1) explained "kühl, kalt". According to what Falk-Torp print on page 84 of their *Wortschatz der germanischen Sprachinheit* there is a Sanscrit masculine (neutre)noun *çícīra* "Kühle, Kälte, Frost, adjective "kühl, kalt".

(Assmann, *Ags. Hom.*, III 314—15 p. 37) the editor states in the notes that MS. S<sup>1</sup> = MS. Corpus Christi College 188, *codex membranaceus in folio minore longe ante acquisitionem Angliae scriptus* exhibits the reading *se eorðe*. Further we read in the *Arundel Ps.* 142<sup>10</sup> as rendering of 'in terram rectam' *on eorðan rihtum*. Also we find *on þam eorpan* in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* ed. Skeat XXIII B 469 (Gloucester Fragment). In the *Old English Martyrology* ed. Herzfeld p. 162<sup>18</sup> MS. C offers the reading *ofer stænenne eorpan*. The *Lambeth Psalter* 99<sup>2</sup> renders, according to Lindelöf, 'iubilare domino omnis (s. o.) terra' thus: *freadremað drihtne eala eorð. Eala*, of course, stands for *eal lá*. Ibid. Ps. 103<sup>5</sup> *nec inclinabitur* (sc. terra) is Englished by *he ne bið ahyld*. Finally, Wycliffe renders the Latin of Mark 4, 28 in such a manner that there is no room left for doubt that he, too, occasionally treated *erthe* as masculine. For he says: "*the erthe by his owne worchinge makith fruyt*". I am confident further search will yield more confirmatory evidence. I trust what I have brought forward will stimulate others to seek. I myself cannot, at present, pursue the subject farther, as here at Daytona Beach, where my wife's and my own failing health forces me to spend the winter, I have no access to a library equipped with the necessary books. I take this occasion to draw again public attention to an other word I tried to stir up some interest in several years ago in the *American Dialect Notes*. I am sorry to say I completely failed to elicit any reply to the query, in what states of the Union was *bees* in the sense of *yeast* still a living word. It is known in the New England States and part of Pennsylvania with the qualifying adjectives Italian, Californian, Mexican, Australian and beer „bees” as a popular remedy in the case especially of stomach troubles. A Dr. Kellogg who dealt with the subject in a letter written to the *Hartford Times* April 29, 1914, page 2, col. 4, shrewdly suggested that the popularity of the remedy was primarily due to the great percentage of alcohol it contained, but he left no doubt about the yeasty character of the 'bees'. And his authoritative statement gave me the necessary basis for connecting this *bees* with the *bysn* 'fermentum' recorded in the interlinear version of *St. Benet's rule* edited by Logeman, pag. 11, line 17. I argued this *bysn* must represent a normal West Saxon *bæsn* in the same way as *slypton* 'dormierunt' in *Vespasian Ps.* 75<sup>6</sup> represented normal West Saxon *slæpton* etc. and it must be a by-form of an original *bæs* (from OTeut. \**bait-ti*) developed in the same way as the 12<sup>th</sup> century *hesn* = OE \**hæsn* was developed from *hæs* (OTeut. \**hait-ti*). I communicated my find with the well-known linguist, Prof. Evald Lidén of Göteborg, Sweden, and I am happy to say he heartily congratulated me upon it. Subsequently, in 1916, I published the matter in *Anglia* — vol. XL, N. F. XXVIII, 347—351 — but it seems to have escaped the notice of John R. Clark Hall who otherwise has been very solicitous to avail himself of the latest discoveries in the field of Old English lexicography for the benefit of his *Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 2<sup>d</sup> revised edition. At any rate, while in accordance with my proofs brought forward in *Anglia* l. l. he is careful to distinguish between *æl* m. 'piercer, awl' and *áwel* m. 'hook, fork', two words usually mixed up in the dictionaries, he has not bookde \**bæsn*, *bysn* 'yeast'.

Nor has he booked **mete-áwel** 'flesh-hook, fork', though the word is undoubtedly on record in the interesting treatise on the duties of the *Geréfa* and, as I have pointed out in *Anglia* XL (N. F. XXVIII), 356—357, it would have been recognized by Liebermann and Kluge, had they not been under the influence of the old-time error that OE. *áwel* and modern *awl* signify one and the same thing. Lest the reader of my remarks in *Anglia* XL, 357, lines 16—23, should gather from them the impression that I hold Leo responsible for it as the starter of the error, I wish to say here that Leo simply propagated it. I shall set the matter right as soon as I can get hold of my notes on the subject which I had prepared several years ago, but have been prevented from publishing by a chain of unfortunate circumstances. I ought to say here that the *áwel* m. 'hook, fork' mentioned previously as booked by Hall, in the revised edition of his *Dictionary*, really is printed *awel* on page 27a; but that this is merely one of the regrettable misprints from which the book is not free, may be seen by the correct entry in the second column of page 27 where we find *āwol* = *āwel*. At any rate, from this entry it is clear that Hall does not hold with Holthausen who in *Beiblatt z. Anglia* August 1919, page 247, commenting on the eminently proper explanation of *owel*, in *Owl & Nightingale* 80, as the ME. representative of OE. *áwel*, brought forward by the recent editor of that poem, asserts with his usual cock-sureness: "Ein ae. *āwol* ist abzulehnen; eher ist neben *awul* eine Ablautsform mit *ō* anzunehmen." This is Holthausen's way of trying to get square with Sweet's blunder in recording the undoubtedly early ME. *owul* of WW. 548<sup>20</sup> among the OE. forms of the word which he gives as *āwel*, *āl*, *āl*, thereby differing from Sievers-Bülbring who, on the authority of E. Zupitza, *die germ. Gutturale*, page 63, assume the *a* of *áwel* to be short, though they agree with Sweet that the word means *awl*, is in fact its OE. forerunner. That this is an illusion I have conclusively shown in my remarks on *æl* 'subula' and *áwul* 'fusicula' (*Anglia* XL, 352—357), and I have combatted the error again in my notes on the etymology of modern English *awl*, published in the July number of *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 1919. In the latter article I have brought out the fact that modern *awl* is based solely on OE. *æl*, *al* 'subula' and emphasized again, what I had already established in the *Anglia* article, that OE. *áwel*, *áwul* 'fusicula' is quite a different word. That its initial is really long I concluded from the 12<sup>th</sup> century *owel* of WW. 548<sup>20</sup> which is corroborated by the 15<sup>th</sup> century *owel* of WW. 576<sup>15</sup> and the *nowle* of WW. 626<sup>7</sup> of the same date. And I said that the word, had it survived, would now be represented by *oul* or *oule* or *owle*, never by *awl*. And to that position I still adhere. I also adhere to the etymological explanation of OE. *áwel* I have brought forward in the article alluded to. In a subsequent article I expect to deal with the ME. quotations exhibiting, as the *Legend of St. Katherine* does, *eaule* for the *owle* we should expect. At present it seems to me such forms can best be explained by the assumption of a by-form \**æwel*, *æwul* which latter seems to be actually on record in the *æwul* 'nassa' of WW. 181<sup>11</sup> booked thus by Hall, whose interpretation 'basket with a narrow neck for catching fish' may be correct. I think I have seen such contrivances for

catching fish during my stay in Holland. If my etymological conception of *á-wel* 'evulsor' is correct, the word, in its by-form *æ-wel*, might well be transferred from its original application to that of a 'fishcatching' contrivance. Observe that also 'hawk' designates such a one. That the underlying OE. *hafuc* = OHG. *habuh* represents the same radical idea of 'catcher' can be seen from what Kluge says sub *Habicht*. A suffix-less form, not mentioned by him, is met with in the Ditmarsh *hæv* of Klaus Groth's *Quickborn*, page 188 of the edition by Perthes-Besser & Mauke, Hamburg 1853. Another form with the suffix *-t* I came across in the Low German *hawt* of Bandlow's "*Naturdoktor Stremel* (Reclams Universalbibliothek No. 3920, page 18).

It may not be amiss to give here the proof of my assertion made in the July number of *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 1919, page 375, to the effect that the scribe of the codex where the early ME. *owel* occurs, almost invariably changed the long *a*'s of his original to *o*. Here it is: WW. 536<sup>4</sup> *mo* = OE. *má*. Just so WW. 536<sup>10-14</sup> WW. 537<sup>8</sup> *toa* = OE. *tá*; WW. 538<sup>15</sup> *oþam* = OE. *ápam*; WW. 538<sup>34-43</sup> *loverd* = OE. *hláford*; WW. 539<sup>14</sup> *borsper* = OE. *bárspere*; WW. 541<sup>1</sup> *gode* = OE. *gád*; WW. 541<sup>25</sup> *onhende* = OE. *ánhende*; WW. 541<sup>28</sup> *frofergost* = OE. *frófergást*; WW. 541<sup>40</sup> *slopleaste* (dat. sg.) = OE. *slápleaste*; WW. 541<sup>44</sup> *orfest* = OE. *árfæst*<sup>1)</sup>; WW. 542<sup>40</sup> *fouh* = OE. *fáh*; WW. 543<sup>36</sup> *roadeor* = OE. *rádéor*; WW. 543<sup>37</sup> *roa* = OE. *rá*; WW. 543<sup>39</sup> *got* = OE. *gát*; WW. 543<sup>40</sup> *do* = OE. *dá*; WW. 544<sup>1</sup> *b[or]* = OE. *bár*; WW. 544<sup>9</sup> *slowurm* = OE. *sláwyrm*; WW. 544<sup>40</sup> *hor[hune]* = OE. *hárhúne*; WW. 544<sup>44</sup> *clote* = OE. *cláte*; WW. 544<sup>46</sup> *wod* = OE. *wád*; WW. 545<sup>7</sup> *crowelec* = OE. *cráwanléac*; WW. 545<sup>10</sup> *gorclifu* = OE. *gárclife*; WW. 545<sup>15</sup> *oc* = OE. *ác*; WW. 546<sup>7</sup> [*asowen*] = OE. *ásáwen*; WW. 548<sup>5</sup> *one* = OE. *áne*; WW. 548<sup>20</sup> *owul* = OE. *áwul*; WW. 548<sup>32</sup> *snode* = OE. *snád*; WW. 549<sup>30</sup> *tocnebora* = OE. *tácnbora*; WW. 549<sup>39</sup> *flo* = OE. *flá*; WW. 549<sup>40</sup> *sowel* = OE. *ságot*; WW. 550<sup>28</sup> [*ston*] *ax* = OE. *stánæx*; WW. 550<sup>39</sup> *ston* = OE. *stán*; WW. 550<sup>42</sup> *wercston* = OE. *weorcstán*; WW. 550<sup>44-45</sup> *spærston*; *gimston* = OE. *spærstán*, *gimstán*; WW. 551<sup>2</sup> *chalcston* = OE. *cealcstán*; WW. 551<sup>6</sup> *od* = OE. *ád*; WW. 551<sup>8</sup> *monful* = OE. *mánful*; WW. 551<sup>30</sup> *woclic* = OE. *wáclíc*; WW. 552<sup>1</sup> *loc* = OE. *lác*; WW. 552<sup>7</sup> *hweston* = OE. *hwætstán*; WW. 553<sup>5</sup> *imouh* = OE. *gemáh*; WW. 553<sup>6</sup> *imouhnesse* = OE. *gemáhness*; WW. 553<sup>7</sup> *onwille* = OE. *ánwille*; WW. 553<sup>8</sup> *onwilln[is]* = OE. *ánwillnes*. Only in the following instances the long *á* of the original is retained: WW. 444<sup>7</sup> *tadde* = OE. *táde*; we should expect *tode*; but compare the modern compound *tadpole*; WW. 548<sup>37</sup> *cweornstan* = OE. *cweornstán*; WW. 550<sup>38</sup> *dah* = OE. *dáh*; WW. 551<sup>24</sup> [*na*] *vegar* = OE. *nafugár*. Special mention must be made of WW. 544<sup>38</sup> *weibreode* which may stand for *weibreode* = *weibrode* representing OE. *wegbráde*; it may also be carelessly written for *weibreade* representing OE. *wegbráede*.

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.1) The following . . . *teas* is undoubtedly to be read *impious [or]teas*, not *[ar]teas* as printed.